

# The American Observer

*A free, virtuous, and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends.—James Monroe*

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## Voting Procedure in World Peace Council

**San Francisco Conference to Consider Proposal Accepted by Big Three at Yalta**

**OPPOSITION HAS BEEN VOICED**

**Said to Prevent Effective Curb on Aggression by Major Power. Supporters Uphold Plan**

The United Nations conference which will meet in San Francisco on April 25 to establish a world security organization is still more than a month away. But the "Big Four," the United States, Russia, Great Britain, and China, have already agreed upon the general character of the organization. At Dumbarton Oaks last summer and at Yalta last month, its main provisions were outlined.

Is this plan which the Big Four will submit to the 40 other nations represented at San Francisco a good one? How effective will it be in preventing future wars? These questions are already being widely discussed and they will be debated until the Senate finally votes upon the question of whether the United States shall become a member of the new world organization. All Americans, therefore, should have full information about the peace machinery which is to be set up and about the way it would operate.

### Voting Procedure

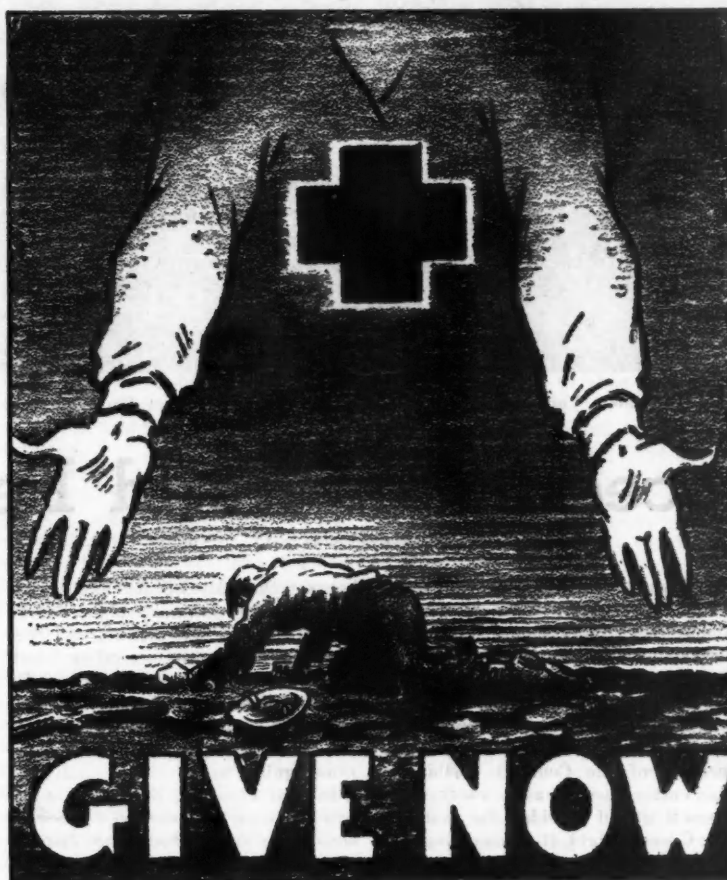
The issue now attracting most attention relates to the Security Council of the world organization and the voting procedure in that body.

The Security Council has the job of preventing aggression and of maintaining peace in the world. That is its chief duty. It will have eleven members. The United States, Russia, Great Britain, France, and China, the "Big Five," will always have representatives on the Council. These nations are called the permanent members. In addition there will be six other seats in the Council and they will be filled by representatives of six of the smaller nations. These seats will rotate among the smaller nations. A nation such as the Netherlands, for example, may have a place in the Council for a specific period, then the place may go for a term to Belgium, and so on.

On ordinary matters decisions of the Council are made by the vote of seven of the eleven members. Many people believe that all decisions should be made in that way. That was the view expressed by representatives of the United States and England at the Dumbarton Oaks conference when plans for a world organization were being made.

The Russian representatives opposed that idea at Dumbarton Oaks. They said that certain kinds of decisions should be made only if all the "Big

(Concluded on page 2)



Arms and the man

TALBOTT IN WASHINGTON NEWS

## Testing Yourself

By Walter E. Myer

I have made a list, not all-inclusive but fairly extensive, of questions pertaining to the qualities and achievements which make for happy, successful, and agreeable living. Since there are 25 questions, you may grade yourself by marking four points for every "yes" answer, and then totaling your score at the end.

1. Are you pleased when you hear that a friend of yours has succeeded in an undertaking or has enjoyed a bit of good fortune?
2. Do you feel a sense of sympathy for a person who has suffered misfortune?
3. Do you contribute much to the satisfaction and enjoyment of your relatives?
4. Are you honest and truthful at all times?
5. Do you always do what you promised to do—are you dependable?
6. Do you have a large enough vocabulary so that, without resort to slang, you are able to express yourself clearly and precisely?
7. Do you enunciate clearly?
8. Are you ordinarily courteous and friendly?
9. Do you have a clean and neat appearance?
10. Do you make friends easily and keep them?
11. Are you reading and learning as much as you can about various vocations, so that later you may make a happy choice?
12. Do you spend money wisely?
13. If you drive a car, do you drive cautiously and safely?
14. Have you studied the rules of diet, so that you eat wisely?
15. Do you know a fair amount about the common diseases, so that you can avoid them or detect them in their early stages?
16. Do you exercise freely and with enjoyment?
17. Do you spend a great deal of time in reading for enjoyment, information, and inspiration?
18. Do you, in addition to your light conversations, engage in more serious and stimulating discussions?
19. Do you like music or other arts?
20. Have you a hobby which is really interesting?
21. Are you interested in community, national, and international problems?
22. Do you express your convictions on public problems freely and forcefully?
23. Are you better informed on any one problem than are your school friends?
24. Do you do more work than you are required to do on any one subject which you take in school?
25. Do you give time frequently to school or community activities?

## Strike Threatened In Soft Coal Mines

**Negotiations Under Way for New Contract Between Mine Workers and Coal Operators**

**DEADLINE IS FIXED AT MARCH 31**

**Government May Take Over Mines to Prevent Serious Interference with War Production Program**

Once more, as has happened several times since the outbreak of war, the United States is confronted by the possibility of a coal strike. The stage has been set for a strike of the bituminous coal miners on March 31. Unless an agreement has been reached with the mine operators by that time, the miners will leave the pits. At present negotiations are under way between the miners' union, the United Mine Workers of America, headed by the determined labor leader, John L. Lewis, and the owners of the mines. If these negotiations fail to produce a contract, the work stoppage will take place. Even if a contract is signed, its terms must have the approval of the federal government, acting through the War Labor Board.

### 30 Days' Notice

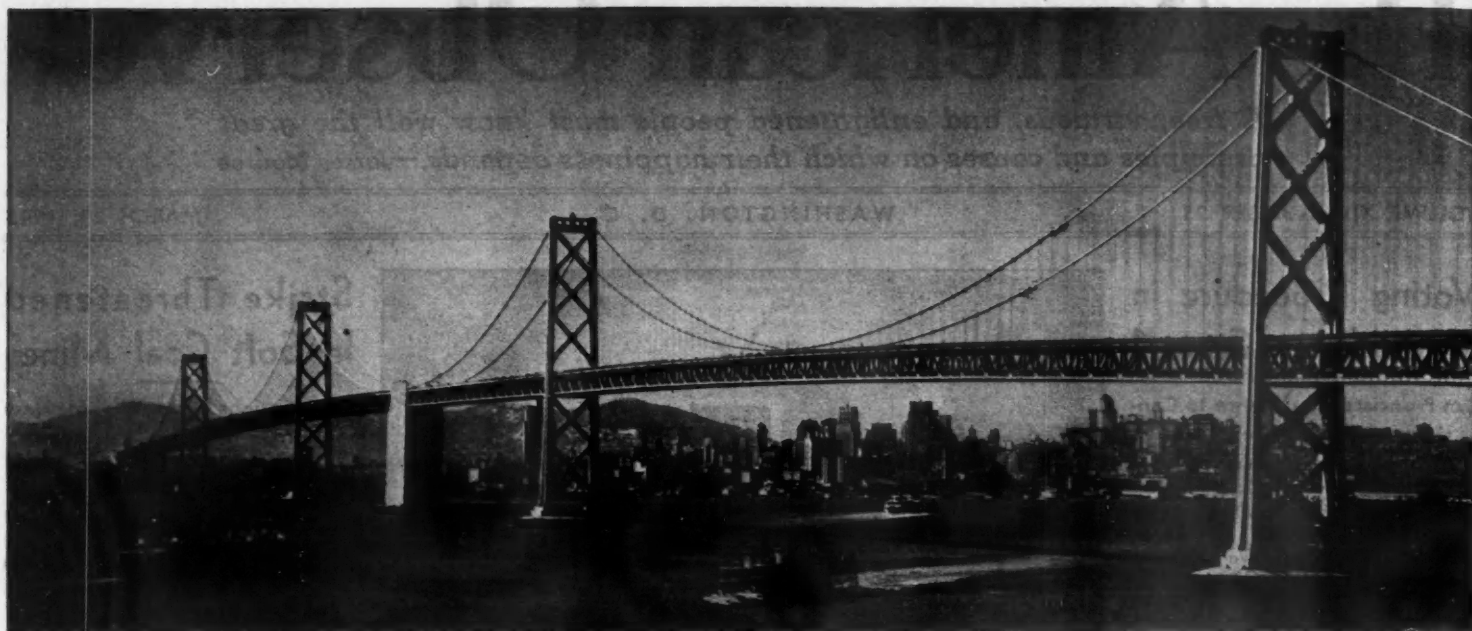
In order to take the steps necessary to call a strike, Mr. Lewis has given the 30 days' notice which the law requires and has requested that an election be held to determine the miners' wishes. This procedure must be followed according to the provisions of the War Labor Disputes Act, popularly known as the Smith-Connally anti-strike law. This law provides that no strike can be called without 30 days' advance notice and without a government-supervised election of the workers.

Mr. Lewis has taken the steps necessary to call a strike on March 31 by complying with these features of the law. Thus if no contract has been signed by that date, he will be free to call his strike, provided, of course, that the miners, in an election, vote in favor of stopping work. And there is little doubt that they will so vote because Mr. Lewis exerts unquestioned control over the coal miners of the nation.

The date, March 31, has been fixed for the proposed strike because that is the date on which the existing contract between the coal operators and the United Mine Workers expires, and the union has adopted the policy of "no contract, no work." These contracts must be renewed every two years and they set forth in great detail the conditions under which the miners will work for the duration of the contract.

The demands which the workers are making in their present negotiations are 18 in number. None of the 18 calls for an increase in the basic hourly wage rate of \$1 an hour which the miners receive under the existing con-

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A charter for a permanent United Nations organization will be drawn up at San Francisco next month

## Voting Procedure in World Peace Plan

(Concluded from page 1)

Five" nations supported them. They thought that force should not be used by the international organization to suppress a nation charged with aggression unless all the permanent members of the Council agreed to such action.

The nations failed to reach an agreement on this point at Dumbarton Oaks and the problem was again taken up by Roosevelt, Stalin, and Churchill at Yalta. A compromise was reached at the Yalta conference and it will be recommended to the conference of 44 nations which will meet in San Francisco next month. The voting plan which has been agreed upon by the United States, Russia, Great Britain, and China, the nations which are sponsoring the San Francisco conference, is as follows:

If a dispute arises among nations, it can be brought before the Security Council. The Council may then decide whether the matter should be investigated. This decision may be made by a vote of seven members of the Council. In such a case the vote of a permanent member of the Council counts for just the same as does the vote of a nonpermanent member. If as many as seven nations vote to do so, the Council may decide to try to settle the quarrel.

If the Council takes up a dispute of this kind, the nations which are involved are to stand aside while the other members of the Council consider the problem. The nations which are disputing are not to vote. The Council may make recommendations; that is, it may decide how the disputes should be settled, or it may vote to refer the dispute to the General Assembly of the international organization, or to some other body for settlement.

But when it comes to enforcing the decisions of the Council, that is a different matter. Even though a nation may be threatening aggression against its neighbors the Council cannot decide to check that nation by force unless all five of the permanent members of the Council, that is, all of the Big Five nations, agree to it.

To see how this plan for voting

would work, we may imagine a dispute which might arise. Suppose, for example, that Russia should seize territory claimed by Poland. The Security Council could take up the dispute and try to settle it. The Russian representative (if Poland at the time were a member of the Council) would not vote on the question as to whether the Council should consider the problem. The Council might, if as many as seven members voted to do so, declare that Russia's actions, if continued, might threaten peace. The Council could study the facts involved in the dispute. By a vote of seven members it might decide that Russia was in the wrong, and it could call upon the Russians to retire from the territory they had occupied. Or, if it chose to do so, it could refer the dispute to the Assembly of the world organization or to some other body.

The Russians might accept the recommendations of the Council, knowing that if they refused to do so, world opinion would probably be against them. But on the contrary, they might refuse to accept the Council's advice. They might continue to hold the territory in dispute. A motion might then be made in the Council to use force to drive the Russians out of the disputed territory.

But when a motion of that kind came up, it could be adopted only if all the permanent members of the Council, including Russia, voted for it. In other words, the power of the world organization could not be used against Russia without her consent, which, of course, she would not give. This means that if Russia or any other great nation should engage in aggression against its neighbors, or make war upon them, the Council could make recommendations, but could not call upon the world organization to use force to suppress it.

When we use Russia as an example of what might happen, it looks as if the voting plan were very favorable to that country, but it is, of course, equally favorable to any other of the Big Five nations. Let us suppose, for example, that a dispute should arise

between the United States and Argentina. Our government might charge that Argentina was fascist, and that she was trying to turn other South American countries against us. To check this action we might blockade her ports, or adopt other measures to stop what we regarded as her aggressions against us.

In that case, the Security Council could take up the question as to what should be done about the dispute. Neither the United States nor Argentina could participate in the voting. The Council might decide against the United States and recommend that we lift the blockade.

But if we decided to go ahead with our policy, the Council could not call upon the nations belonging to the world security organization to use force against us.

Furthermore, the Security Council could not, without our consent (and the consent of the other Big Five nations) vote to use force against any nation anywhere in the world and could not call upon us to supply troops or naval or air forces to enforce the decision.

Many people think that this voting plan will greatly weaken the world organization as a preserver of peace. They say that if the peace of the world is threatened, it will not be by little nations but by big ones, and that if the Security Council cannot call upon the member nations to use force against a big nation which is threatening the peace, its hands are completely tied.

It is argued that the new international organization will have the same weakness that characterized the old League of Nations. Its peace machinery will lack teeth. It cannot stop the kind of aggression which always causes war; namely, aggressions by powerful nations. Hence its peace enforcement machinery will be practically useless.

It is argued, on the other hand, that though the new international organization cannot absolutely guarantee peace among the nations, it can be helpful in the prevention of wars.

The Dumbarton Oaks-Yalta plan, it

is argued, will work so long as the big and powerful nations are in agreement. So long as they stand together there will be peace in the world. The Germans and Japanese can be held in check. If the Germans and Japanese should undertake to rise up again against their neighbors, the Security Council could take action against them and could bring all the nations of the world in opposition to them. If, on the other hand, one of the big nations, such as Russia or the United States, should adopt an aggressive course, a global war probably would result, regardless of what the Council might do.

It is said that if force is to be used to preserve peace, the big and powerful nations are the ones upon whom the job would fall. They are the only ones in a position to use force. Hence, they should have the right to decide when force is to be used by the international organization against a nation charged with aggression.

In brief, it is argued that if the great powers, particularly the United States, Great Britain, and Russia, cannot agree, if any one of them embarks upon a policy of conquest, the cause of peace in the world is already lost. The offending nation can be put down only through a world war. This will be true whether there is a world organization or not.

But assuming that the big and powerful nations can work harmoniously together, the proposed world organization can be very helpful in settling disputes among small nations, in checking any future aggressions of Germany and Japan, and in marshaling world opinion in support of international justice.

We must accept the fact that the world organization set up at San Francisco will not be perfect. No one will be pleased with all its provisions. It will be the product of many compromises, but after it is put in operation, changes in the organization can be made from time to time. If there is a period of peace and the nations come to have more confidence in each other, the world organization may be given added powers and may gain in strength and influence.



# Threatened Coal Strike

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tract. But most of them would result in increased benefits to the miners, through the adoption of certain devices. For example, the most spectacular demand which Mr. Lewis is making is that a royalty of 10 cents be paid by the operators for every ton of coal mined. This money would be paid directly to the treasury of the United Mine Workers. It would be used to provide medical services and hospitalization for the miners, insurance, and economic protection.

If accepted, this royalty would add some \$60,000,000 a year to the cost of production of coal, at the present levels of production. At peacetime levels, the yield from the royalty would be some \$30,000,000.

Other demands presented by Mr. Lewis would increase the "take-home" pay of the miners without increasing the basic hourly rate. He is demanding compensation to those workers who mine coal on the second and third shifts—the shifts which run into the night. For the second shift, he is asking 10 cents an hour more than is paid for the first shift, and 15 cents more for the third shift. Other workers have received benefits for working the less desirable shifts, and Mr. Lewis is demanding these differentials for his miners.

## Other Demands

In addition, the miners are asking vacation payments of \$100 a year instead of the \$50 they now receive. They want the companies to pay for part of their equipment, such as tools, explosives, hats, and so on. Under the present contract, these items must be bought by the miners.

The miners are also seeking adjustments in the overtime payment schedule. At present, overtime payments start after 40 hours each week. They want overtime to start at 35 hours, with time and one-half paid for all time in excess of the 35 hours. They want pay for the time spent in traveling from the mine entrance to the pits where they work and back again. At present they are paid at the rate of two-thirds their usual hourly rate for travel time but they want to be paid at the full hourly rates. In other words, they want time spent in traveling inside the mines considered on

exactly the same basis as time actually spent in mining coal. This is the portal-to-portal issue which has loomed so large in past disputes between the miners and the mine operators.

These are the principal demands made by the United Mine Workers on behalf of the 407,000 soft coal miners the union represents. If granted, they would result in considerable financial gains for the miners, even though no single demand calls for an increase in the hourly rate of pay. Estimates vary as to the exact amount of the benefits the miners would receive. The mine operators claim that the demands would result in an average increase to each miner of more than \$2 a day, including the 10 per cent royalty on each ton of coal. Others place a lower figure upon the gains, but all admit that the workers would receive considerably more than they are now getting and that the cost of mining each ton of coal would be substantially increased.

By refusing to demand an outright increase in the basic hourly rate of pay, the miners believe they have a better chance of winning their case. Such a demand would have been a direct attempt to break the Little Steel Formula, which is still the government's basic policy in dealing with wage increases. This Formula permits a 15 per cent increase in the basic rates of pay above the level of January 1941. Mr. Lewis and his union officials could not ask for an increase in the basic hourly rate of \$1 without attacking the Formula. However, they can ask for certain benefits which do not break the Formula but which do in fact give the miners more "take-home" pay than they are now receiving.

Opponents of Mr. Lewis charge that even though he may not be violating the letter of the Little Steel Formula, his demands would in effect actually make that policy a dead letter and deal a shattering blow to the government's entire stabilization program. The coal operators point out that they could not grant these demands without increasing the price of coal to consumers, and that an increase in the price of coal would be reflected in higher prices all along the line.

The miners' demands have placed the government in an extremely diffi-



NEGOTIATIONS BEGIN. John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America (center), and John O'Leary, vice-president (right), meet with Charles O'Neil, president of the North Appalachian Coal Operators (left), to discuss the union's demands for royalties and other concessions.

cult position. As pointed out earlier, the final decision will have to be made by the War Labor Board, for even if the United Mine Workers and the coal operators succeed in reaching an agreement before March 31, the terms of the contract will have to be approved by the Board. And the War Labor Board will have no easy job because of the possible consequences of whatever decision it makes. On the one hand, it must take into account the justice of the miners' demands and the possible effects of refusing to grant them. The nation must have a continuous flow of coal from the mines if the war industries are to continue in operation. Already the supply of coal is dangerously low and a strike would have serious consequences.

## War Labor Board Problem

Against this, the War Labor Board must consider the consequences of granting the miners' demands in full or in part. To grant substantial wage increases to one large body of workers would lead immediately to demands of workers in practically every other industry. The result would be to increase the dangers of inflation all along the line, with increased wages leading to higher prices, and again demands for higher wages, and so on, until the country was in the throes of uncontrolled inflation.

In addition to the issues affecting inflation-control measures now in operation, the demand for a royalty on the mining of coal has raised another serious controversy. In making this demand, Mr. Lewis has taken a leaf from the book of James C. Petrillo, president of the American Federation of Musicians, who demanded that the recording companies pay a royalty to his union on all phonograph records sold. After a bitter fight, Petrillo won his point and the recording companies are now paying the royalty.

In justifying this demand, Mr. Lewis and the mine workers contend that the conditions under which they work are so hazardous that they must have the protection which such royalties would give them—protection to health and to economic security. Their health is constantly threatened by diseases, such as silicosis and tuberculosis, because of the peculiar conditions under which they must work. Explosions alone account for more than 1,000 deaths a year with some 60,000 injuries. Even in their homes, they

cannot get away from the drab and unhealthful surroundings, for coal dust fills the atmosphere and many of the company-built and company-owned houses are lacking in sanitary facilities.

The miners admit that they have made substantial gains during the last few years. Last year, for example, they earned an average of \$52.33 a week as compared with \$34.48 a week in 1941. But they point out that wages are considerably higher in other industries where working conditions are far better. The average weekly earnings in ship-building are \$67; in firearms production, \$59; and in automotive equipment, \$58, to give a few examples.

Since the government's anti-inflation policy prevents them from asking for direct increases in wage rates, the miners contend, they must seek to improve their living conditions and health standards through other methods. That is why they are seeking to create a fund, through royalties, from which their needs for health and other benefits could be met.

The coal operators do not accept the logic of the miners in advancing these arguments. They say it makes little difference whether a direct wage increase is granted or the result is accomplished by some other device, such as the royalty. The mine owners look upon the royalty as a tribute which they must pay to the union. They say that to grant Mr. Lewis' demand would be to establish a dangerous precedent; that if one group of workers can demand royalties on what they produce, all workers will follow suit. They contend that the levying of royalties by labor is, to say the least, a novel and revolutionary doctrine in a system of private ownership of property.

Whether the War Labor Board will grant the Lewis demands for royalties and for other concessions for his miners cannot be determined yet. In order to prevent a strike, it is possible that the government will seize the coal mines as it did during previous disputes. In that case, the miners would be working for the government and not for private employers and hence could not go out on strike without defying the authority of the United States Government. During the time of government operation, the miners would continue under the terms of the old contract while the attempt was made to settle the points at issue.



VITAL INDUSTRY. The national war effort depends upon a continuous flow of coal from the mines to the key war industries. The entire nation anxiously watches the negotiations now under way between the miners and soft coal operators.

# The Story of the Week

## Beginning of the End

When Prime Minister Churchill returned from a visit to the Western Front early this month he said that "anyone can see that one strong heave will win the war." The spectacular crossing of the Rhine by units of General Hodges' American First Army, a few days later, raised hopes throughout the Allied world that the "one strong heave" had begun. The crossing of the Rhine and the establishment of a secure beachhead on the opposite bank have been compared in importance to the Normandy landings last June 6.

With the successful crossing of the Rhine in the west and an all-out Russian assault in the east, Germany's last natural defense barriers have been breached and the Allies are securely within the much-vaunted Inner Fortress which the Nazis have repeatedly declared was impregnable. The Ruhr has become untenable and may even be in Allied hands by the time this paper reaches its readers. With the loss of Silesia to the Russians a few weeks ago, the Germans have lost the vital industrial sections which have been feeding the German war machine.

The big question in everyone's mind now is how long the Germans can hold out with such overwhelming odds against them and with their military situation utterly hopeless. That they can continue fighting for some time in a suicidal attempt to stave off final defeat is admitted on all hands. Whether they will do so is another matter. If Hitler and his henchmen



Lt. Gen. William H. Simpson, commander of the American Ninth Army, which is playing a vital role in the final battles in the west.

can hold the German armies under their control, resistance may continue for weeks or months. But the Nazi criminals may not be able to control the situation much longer and individual units of the armies in the east and west may surrender in such numbers that further defense will be impossible. Even the most pessimistic admit that the beginning of the end was reached with the crossing of the Rhine.

## Inter-American Decisions

Here are the most important accomplishments of the recent Mexico City conference as reported by Secretary of State Stettinius. First, the American republics have reaffirmed their unity in the common struggle against the Axis. They have endorsed the Dumbarton Oaks proposals as the basis for the charter of a world organization to



WITH THE CROSSING OF THE RHINE, our bag of German prisoners is increasing by leaps and bounds. Here an American M.P. stands guard over prisoners captured in the Rhineland offensive.

be established at the forthcoming San Francisco conference of the United Nations.

They have developed an additional system of united action against aggressors through the Act of Chapultepec. They have reorganized the inter-American system under the Pan American Union, providing for annual meetings of the foreign ministers of member nations as well as emergency gatherings and the regular international conferences of American states held every four years.

In addition, the Mexico City conferees have pledged their nations to uphold the principles of democracy and human rights and to raise the standard of living of the hemisphere. Finally, they have agreed on a united policy toward Argentina. This policy opens the way for Argentina to forsake her pro-Axis stand and reenter the inter-American system, but states the uncompromising opposition of the other American states to her previous policies of noncooperation.

## Vinson and Davis

President Roosevelt's choice of Fred M. Vinson to replace Jesse Jones as head of the Federal Loan Agency has been greeted with favor on all sides. Vinson, remembered for his fine work in the House as a tax expert as well as for his efforts to hold the line against inflation as Director of Economic Stabilization, is considered liberal enough to collaborate well with Henry A. Wallace, new Secretary of Commerce. At the same time, he has sufficiently middle-of-the-road views to inspire the confidence of businessmen.

The appointment of William H. Davis as Vinson's successor in the Office of Economic Stabilization has received somewhat less applause. It has been variously interpreted as a sign that the government will lend a more receptive ear to labor's demands for higher wages and as a sign that labor has finally lost its fight for revision of the Little Steel Formula.

Those who feel that Davis will be more lenient to labor than Vinson was point to a recent controversy between the two men. Vinson advocated a series of limits on the "fringe adjustments" provided for in the latest WLB minimum wage decree. Davis held out for consideration of each case on its

individual merits. The latter policy would presumably allow the greater number of wage increases.

Those who believe that the Davis appointment kills labor's hopes for higher pay cite as evidence to support their belief the recent WLB report placing wage increases ahead of the wartime rise in prices. As head of the Board, Davis was largely responsible for the report.

Davis' place on the War Labor Board will be filled by Dr. George W. Taylor, professor of labor relations from the University of Pennsylvania and vice-chairman of the Board since it was established.

## Vandenberg and Stassen

Two American delegates to the coming San Francisco conference recently presented the nation with statements of principle. Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg's statement came in the form of a warning to the Big Three powers that their treatment of Poland will set the precedent for all other peace settlements. Commander Harold E. Stassen's was a seven-point creed of international obligations.

Vandenberg urged that a truly representative coalition of all political factions be included in the new Lublin government of Poland. Only if this is

done, he declared, will other small nations expect decisions from the Big Three to be based on justice rather than expediency.

Stassen's seven points were: 1. That the United States must join with the other United Nations to build an organization to preserve world peace. 2. That the idea of national sovereignty must be dropped in favor of the realization that a limited portion of each nation's sovereignty must be delegated to an international organization. 3. That America's productive capacity must be used to aid in the development of other peoples. 4. That freedom of information must be guaranteed in the postwar world. 5. That the aggressors in this war must be stripped of their power to make future wars. 6. That democracy must be preserved in the United States but that other nations must be left free to decide their own forms of government within the limits of human rights and the needs of world peace. 7. That the American people must consider that their future peace and welfare is intertwined with the peace and welfare of the rest of the world.

## New Action on Manpower

As we go to press, Congress is still struggling with the manpower problem. Although the House has authorized a limited draft of nurses for the Army and Navy and the Senate has passed the Kilgore-O'Mahoney bill placing the nation's civilian workers under the control of the War Manpower Commission, further debate and delay is expected before either measure becomes law.

The House-approved nurse draft makes all nurses between 20 and 44, with the exception of those married before March 15 of this year, subject to induction to meet the needs of the armed services. Under this bill, drafted nurses would have the same status as volunteer Army and Navy nurses, enjoying the same benefits and reemployment rights after the war. Although some 16,000 nurses are needed, it is believed possible that if the measure is long delayed in the Senate, most of the required number will have been recruited by voluntary means before the draft is put into effect.

Since the House has already given



THIS IS IWO JIMA. Japanese airplanes wrecked on one of the air strips on Iwo Jima for which our Marines paid such a heavy price. The island's air strips will serve as bases for future raids upon the Japanese homeland.

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its approval to the May-Bailey bill freezing workers in their war jobs and placing heavy penalties on those who refuse to obey job-changing orders, the fate of the milder Kilgore-O'Mahoney bill, which would control the labor supply through a series of restrictions on employers, is uncertain. Most observers think a compromise measure, worked out by a conference committee, will be required before the final manpower law is actually enacted.

### Trillion-Dollar War

The cost of World War II for all nations involved, which is mounting at the rate of \$200,000,000,000 a year, has now passed the trillion-dollar mark. Our part of this staggering total is about \$250,000,000,000 so far, with Britain accounting for \$100,000,000,000, Russia for another \$100,000,000,000, and the Axis powers for some \$300,000,000,000. The rest has been

new construction would be carried on in accordance with overall community planning, providing for parks, playgrounds, schools, libraries, and hospitals as well as living units.

Government and private investors would also collaborate on an extensive program of rural housing. Run-down farmhouses and worn-out small town dwellings would also be purchased, replaced, or rebuilt, and turned back to their former occupants at low rent.

Under this plan, private lending agencies, backed by government guarantees, would supply much of the money for the new housing. Municipal agencies would contribute a part of the necessary funds, and federal government would step in wherever necessary and grant up to \$110,000,000 a year to local housing agencies. Besides eliminating the vast areas of substandard housing throughout the nation—it is estimated that a third of the country's dwelling units are in need of replacement or repair—this program would help to provide the 60,000,000 jobs the President regards as needed for full employment after the war.

### Chiang and the Opposition

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek is neither a returning exile leader nor the head of a newly formed provisional government, but a political chieftain who has been in power throughout the war period. Nevertheless, his position is very like that of the newly risen leaders in liberated Europe.

Like them, he is in the midst of an increasingly difficult struggle to bring about national unity in the face of the most serious economic and political disorganization. Opposition to him, as to them, centers upon the demand of the people as a whole for greater democracy and the demand of a strong leftist group for a dominant voice in the government.

To meet the first demand, Chiang has just announced that if the approval of the Kuomintang Congress is forthcoming in May, a National Assembly will be called together November 12 to draw up a new constitution for China. All parties will be given legal status, and all will meet on an equal footing in the Assembly.

In dealing with the second situation, Chiang has been less successful. The Communists, entrenched in northern China, maintain their own army and administer their own local government.



**IMPORTANT ALLIES.** The Chinese Communists, in control of large sections of northern China, have successfully engaged the Japanese for several years. Here members of their armies are shown carrying the makings of their "heavy artillery," home-made cannon barrels.

They refuse to cooperate with Chungking unless the now dominant Kuomintang, or government party, is replaced by a coalition of various parties.

Chiang has offered the Communists legal recognition if they will incorporate their army and local government with the national army and government. In order to subdue Communist fears that their army will be dissolved, he has offered to place an American general in command of Communist forces under his own overall direction. He has refused, however, to give up Kuomintang leadership of the government.

In spite of the fact that negotiations between the Chungking government and the Communists are still deadlocked, attempts to bring them together will continue. Chiang is particularly afraid that if national unity is not achieved by the end of the war, peace with Japan will mark the opening of an outright civil war.

### Upset in Romania

The newest political upset in Romania places the government of that country in the hands of the National Democratic Front, a small but powerful group led by Dr. Peter Groza. This group, said to be Communist-dominated, used riots, public demonstrations, and even an attempt at assassination to force out the coalition government formed last December by General Nicolai Radescu.

The National Democratic Front's objections to Radescu were much the same as those of similar leftist groups to the provisional governments of other liberated countries. They charged him with failing to purge fascist elements from the army and the government and also with failing to set in motion a program of land reform.

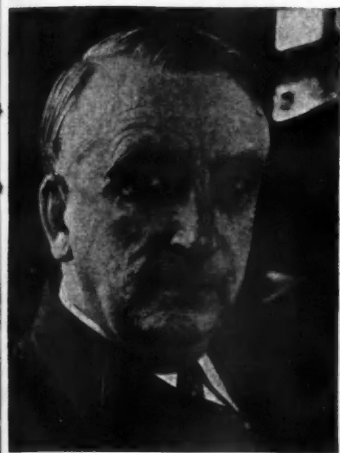
Coming so soon after the Crimea conference at which leaders of the Big Three United Nations agreed to work together in guaranteeing stable, popular governments to the liberated countries, this situation provides a particularly important test. The new Romanian government does not include representatives of all political groups. The great question is whether the United States, Britain, and Russia will take some kind of joint action to broaden it.

### UNRRA's Record

Why has UNRRA accomplished so little? Both here and abroad, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration is being challenged with this question. In a year and a half of existence, it has sent only 7,000 tons of supplies from the United States to Europe—less than enough to fill one Liberty ship.

An important reason why UNRRA has not done more is the difficulty of obtaining the needed relief supplies, and the added difficulty of finding shipping space for them once they have been accumulated. Also, countries like Holland and Belgium have preferred to manage their own relief problems. Certain other countries have blocked UNRRA's efforts even though unable to handle the distribution of relief themselves. And until last fall, UNRRA was not permitted in Italy because, as ex-enemy territory, the country was considered ineligible for Allied relief.

In UNRRA's defense, it can also be said that a new project is now under way for aiding the millions of refugees and displaced persons who will start for home with the defeat of Germany. It is estimated that of the 15,000,000 displaced persons in Europe, some 6,000,000 will walk rather than wait for transportation home. UNRRA plans to set up aid centers at road junctions to care for these people. Motorized caravans with kitchens and first-aid trucks will administer food and medical care along the way.



**Fred M. Vinson, new Loan Administrator**

contributed by China, Canada, and the smaller nations.

Most countries have been able to meet no more than 40 or 50 per cent of their war expenses through taxation. To get the rest, they have borrowed, mainly by issuing war bonds and other securities. This process has increased the national debt in the United States by almost \$200,000,000,000 and has raised the total world debt more than half a trillion dollars.

Indebtedness will produce serious problems for all nations after the war. Only if full employment and a high rate of production prevail will the national incomes of the various countries be large enough so that they can meet their war obligations.

### Postwar Housing Bill

To combat the twin evils of substandard living conditions and unemployment in the postwar period, government officials have drafted the biggest and most important housing program in the nation's history. Now before Congress in the form of an amendment to the National Housing Act, this program involves the spending of a billion dollars on housing in the first three years after the war.

This is how the plan would work. Aided by private investments and federal subsidies, more than 400 of our leading cities could purchase slum areas. Hopelessly substandard buildings would be torn down and replaced by new houses and apartments. Substandard but still sturdy buildings would be repaired or remodeled. The



**Italy's first ambassador to this country since we entered the war—Alberto Tarchiani—calls at the Department of State. He is shown here (center) with Stanley Woodward, chief of the Division of Protocol of the State Department.**



**IMPORTANT SESSION.** This picture of a meeting of the League of Nations Council was taken just after the Italian delegates had walked out. The Council had been called to consider the Italian invasion of Ethiopia. Pierre Laval, then premier of France and now regarded as arch-war criminal, is shown in the center. British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden and Russian Foreign Commissar Maxim Litvinov are seen on the right.

### *The Democratic Process*

## The League of Nations

**B**ECAUSE the League of Nations proved unable to prevent World War II, it lost almost all its influence after 1939. But with the approach of the San Francisco conference, it has become important again as a model for those who will set up the machinery of a new international security organization. Naturally, the United Nations will not copy the old League exactly. But its record will guide them by showing the pitfalls to be avoided in forming the new agency for the preservation of peace.

Here is the way the League of Nations was organized. In general, it followed the pattern of a parliamentary government in a democratic state, with a legislative body, a kind of cabinet for making key decisions, and an administrative arm. Affiliated with it were a judicial body and a number of special agencies. It supported its projects through contributions from member nations, scaled according to their ability to pay.

The legislative branch of the League of Nations was the Assembly, composed of delegates from all the member nations. Each nation was allowed three official representatives in the Assembly but only one vote. Most nations named prime ministers, either active or retired, foreign ministers, and other high officials as their official delegates. In addition, many countries sent large unofficial delegations to aid the recognized Assembly members. Some delegations included as many as 20 unofficial representatives, among whom were all kinds of technical and legal experts.

The Assembly controlled the admission of new members to the League, the election of non-permanent members of the Council, the League budget, and, in cooperation with the Council, the election of judges to the World Court. The basis of its working arrangement was a group of six permanent committees, each composed of one representative of each member nation. These committees handled legal questions, technical organization, plans for re-

duction of armaments, budget and finance, social and humanitarian projects, and political questions involving such matters as mandates and the slavery problem.

The committees, which were divided into numerous special subcommittees, drew up reports and suggestions to be submitted to the Assembly as a whole, which then made them the basis of advice to the Council. A majority vote of members, or a two-thirds vote where the issue was the admission of a new member, made Assembly decisions law on all questions over which it had supreme power. On some questions within the range of Assembly decision, a unanimous vote was required.

On a small scale, the Assembly carried out some of the functions of the world bank planned at Bretton Woods. It lent money to nations impoverished by the war in order to stabilize their economic life and start them on programs of reconstruction. In some cases, it gave money directly to cover the cost of caring for war refugees. It worked to stimulate international trade and to break down tariff barriers.

The Assembly was also preoccupied with humanitarian projects. It fostered international agreements for control of the drug traffic and worked for the abolition of slavery throughout the world. It met regularly once a year, but could come together more frequently at the request of a majority of either its own members or the members of the Council.

The Council of the League, roughly comparable to a cabinet in a parliamentary government, was at first composed of eight members. Four—Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan—were permanent, and four were elected by the Assembly for three-year terms. The idea was for the nonpermanent seats to be occupied by representatives of all other League nations in rotation. Later, however, when Germany was admitted to the League, the Council was enlarged to include 14 members, five permanent and nine nonpermanent.

The Council met four times a year at first, but later adopted a schedule of only three annual meetings. Its authority extended over all situations involving a threat of war, the promotion of a world-wide disarmament program, the protection of minority peoples, and the supervision of mandated territories. A unanimous vote was required on all its decisions, except those involving a dispute. Parties to a dispute were not permitted to vote on their own cases.

The Council's powers in dealing with international disputes were broadly defined. The system was for either party to an international dispute to submit its case to the Council, which would try to work out a peaceful settlement. If none could be found, the Council could recommend sanctions—mainly economic pressures, like the suspension of trade with the aggressor nation. The loophole in this rule was the provision that League members were not bound by the Council's decision unless it was unanimous. Parties to a dispute were excepted, but the approval of all other Council members was required before any recommendation of sanctions could be considered binding.

The League Council did, however, settle a number of significant disputes, particularly in the early years after the war. In addition, it worked for peace and international justice by conducting plebiscites and by administering disputed areas, like the Saar Basin, until plebiscites could be held. It also did pioneer work in devising formulas for the peaceful settlement of international disputes, working out arbitration and mediation procedures which were used by many nations.

Confronted by an international controversy of major proportions with the Italian attack on Ethiopia, the League Council did make use of economic sanctions. These were not carried through in punishing proportions however—oil sanctions, which would have seriously interfered with Italy's capacity to make war were never adopted.

The League Secretariat might be called an international civil service. It was headed by a Secretary-General appointed by the Council, and included about 600 officials of different grades. The Secretariat was divided into political, economic, financial, and other departments, assigned to work with appropriate League committees. These departments carried on research to aid Assembly and Council members in making decisions. They operated the largest publishing house in Switzerland to take care of the many records, books, and pamphlets in which they recorded their findings. In addition, they kept up the magnificent League library and furnished over 100 newspapers and news agencies throughout the world with information on League affairs. Most of the League of Nations units still operating here and abroad are outgrowths of the Secretariat.

Although the Council was empowered to act as a court in deciding on action against aggressor nations, the League looked also to the Permanent Court of International Justice for the settlement of disputes between nations. This body, though technically independent of the League, was in operation dependent upon it. Its members were elected from panels drawn up by legal societies and other groups in the various nations. Both the Assembly and the Council voted on prospective judges for the Permanent Court of International Justice (also known as the World Court).

The World Court was used mainly to arbitrate international disputes voluntarily submitted to its jurisdiction. It also handed down advisory opinions on cases in which one or both parties to a dispute declined to submit to arbitration. From time to time it included judges whose nations were not members of the League. Although the United States refused to connect itself officially with the World Court, several American judges were represented on its panel.

The second most important independent organization affiliated with the League of Nations was the International Labor Organization. This group, consisting of representatives of most of the countries of the world, is still at work, trying to raise the workingman's standard of living throughout the world.

When the League of Nations was formed at the close of World War I, it included 42 different countries. Former enemy nations were excluded and the Soviet Union was not invited to join. A few other nations stayed out, the United States being, of course, the most important non-member.

Gradually, the nations which had made up the Central Powers in World War I were admitted to the League, and in 1934, Russia too was granted membership. At its height, the League consisted of 58 nations. With the approach of World War II, League membership dropped as one nation after another refused to accept its decisions and withdrew. By 1941, there were only 45 member nations, and a number of those were already occupied by the Axis. From that time on, the League ceased to play a significant role in world affairs.

In spite of the fact that most of its operations have been suspended for a number of years, the League of Nations has important contributions to make to the new world security agency. Several of its humanitarian and research projects are still in operation, and its records will prove invaluable to the new security organization.



# U. S. Watches Japan's Home Front

FROM Guadalcanal to Iwo Jima, America's fighting men have realized that in meeting the Japanese, no quarter would be given. The fighting on Iwo Jima has been described by eye-witnesses as perhaps the most savage of the war, and as our men engage larger numbers of the Japanese and forces—estimated at 5,000,000 strong—they will encounter the same wild fanaticism.

When the war in Europe ends, the Japanese know that the full weight of American military power will be hurled against them. The Pacific war will be won not only by the gigantic military and naval battles which lie ahead, but also by the blows which will be struck at civilian Japan and at all the resources with which Japan will try to stave off disaster.

Because of the importance which resources, civilian morale, and many other factors not directly related to military campaigns will play in the war against Japan, our government is keeping a close eye on developments within Japan. It is carefully examining all the reports which seep out of that country in order to get as complete a picture of conditions as possible. Naturally, a full picture is impossible because our sources of information are limited. But the Office of War Information has recently published some of the facts which have been gathered about Japan and which can be made public without endangering military security.

## No Internal Crack-up Seen

Those who are hoping for signs of an internal crack-up in Japan are in for disappointment as nothing the government has yet learned about conditions inside Japan would indicate such a thing. The Japanese have been steeped in a philosophy of fanaticism which is alien to us and they have learned to endure hardships which would seem unbearable to other peoples. The privations of war, growing greater every month, are things to which they have become accustomed, for their living standards were never high and they have been at war for many years.

Because of their fanaticism and the rigid controls which the government exercises over their lives, the Japanese are taking their military reverses without apparent complaint. They may hear of our landings on Iwo Jima, only 750 miles from Tokyo, of the loss of Manila; they may see the destruction of their home cities increasing with each raid of the B-29's, and yet not see in any of these events the signs of impending doom for them. The truth of their military situation is kept from them and they do not question the divinity of their emperor or the wisdom of his government's policies. Their morale is kept up by the glowing promises of changes in the fortunes of war which will surely come.

There is little else to bolster their morale, for their privations and hardships are growing steadily. For many months, all food and clothing have been rationed, as well as matches, medicines, gasoline, and such fuels as coal, charcoal, and kerosene. With them, it is not a question of what additional things shall be rationed, but rather what reductions shall be made in the rations of all items.

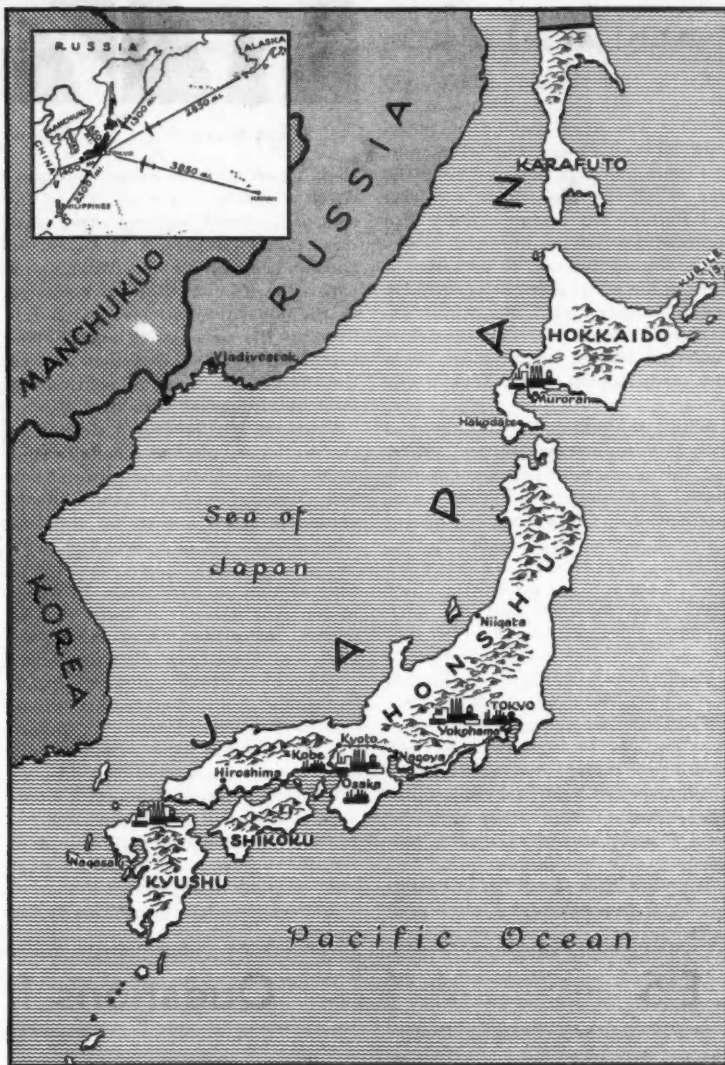
The Japanese are eating less rice

and fish, their main foods, and they are finding it practically impossible to obtain such "luxuries" as bread, meat, milk, candy, and cheese. The rice ration alone has been reduced from 370 pounds to 240 a year per person. The shortage of fish results from the transfer of men to war industries and from the lack of fishing boats and fuel to operate them.

Japan's prospects for food are black and the rations are likely to be cut down even more. The nation was never

coat 22 points, and even blankets and towels and other home textiles require from 13 to 50 points. No leather shoes are available to civilians legally, and the linen, fishskin, and paper shoes which are available fall apart after a short time.

There is a serious shortage of housing in Japan, and very few new houses are being built. In Tokyo, a number of houses have been destroyed in the process of constructing wide highways across the city to serve as fire-breaks.



Japan and her industries

self-sufficient in foods, with a population of 75,000,000 to feed and few agricultural resources, and has relied heavily upon imports from southeastern Asia. With fewer ships available for the transportation of food, her future supplies will diminish still further. As we close in on the home islands, we shall tighten the blockade of Japan and reduce still more the supplies of foodstuffs she may receive, as well as raw materials for her war industries.

The supply of clothing is severely limited. It is practically impossible to obtain cotton or woolen garments, and the nation is setting aside much of its silk for parachutes. Most clothing is now made from a fabric called "sufu," a synthetic cotton which turns to shreds after two or three washings.

The average person receives two clothing tickets a year, each worth 40 or 50 points. A western-style suit requires 63 points, a woman's two-piece blouse and skirt 44 points, a child's

As our bombings continue, the shortage of living quarters will be felt more acutely.

The Japanese government has acted to reduce the population of the cities by ordering children, invalids, and the aged to leave and live on farms or in special rural camps. Some two million have been moved out of Tokyo alone—nearly a third of its normal population.

The population as a whole is fully mobilized for war work. All boys and men between the ages of 12 and 60 and all unmarried women up to the age of 40 are subject to government control in their jobs. Many businesses have been closed down in order that their employees might be released for more essential jobs. Schools are in session on short schedules, thus permitting pupils to report for war jobs in their spare time. In the lower grades, schools are organized as workshops to turn out war goods. Full-time workers are on the job for 12

to 16 hours a day. Only two days a month are allowed for rest. It is estimated that nearly half the total population of Japan is now engaged in war industries.

Japanese wages are low by our standards, but they are supplemented with bonuses, sickness allowances, retirement pay, holiday gifts, and dormitory or housing accommodations. Tokyo workers in factories and offices receive an average monthly wage of 70 yen—the equivalent of \$16.10 in our currency. Higher wages are paid in heavy industries and to seamen.

The government has managed, through rationing and price-control measures to prevent runaway inflation, but there has nevertheless been a considerable increase in the cost of living. Between 1937 and 1943, the real earnings of the Japanese declined some 40 per cent. This means that there was a decline of 40 per cent in the amount of goods which they could buy. The black market is extensive in Japan, where prices may be four times as high as the legal ceiling prices. A pair of leather shoes on the Tokyo black market costs several months' salary for the average skilled Japanese worker. There have been no evening newspapers in Japan for a year, and the morning papers have been reduced to four pages.

## Greater Privations Ahead

However much the Japanese may have felt the pinch of war, the future will impose even greater privations upon them. Each military victory places us in a better position to tighten the blockade of the homeland and to destroy their war industries. The stockpiles of raw materials which they spent years building up cannot last forever and their shortages are bound to become more acute.

American military leaders are anxious to determine the extent to which Japan is shifting her war industries to Manchuria, where they will be less vulnerable to air attacks. There is no doubt that many of her more crucial factories are being transferred there, and the Japanese are undoubtedly planning to move as many industries as possible away from the crowded cities.

Few well-informed Americans expect victory over the Japanese to be an easy matter, even when we are in a position to throw our full military might against them. Joseph C. Grew, former ambassador to Japan and now undersecretary of state, sounds a word of caution which might be heeded by all Americans:

"Japanese civilians, although undergoing privations and living under severe restrictions, are doing so willingly and energetically. Japanese men, women, and children are organized for war to an extent that we Americans, with our democratic tradition, find hard to understand. Japan's low standard of living, stringent diet, and the long working hours to which her people are accustomed, make home front conditions that seem like privations to us appear only discomforts to the Japanese. The Japanese are a disciplined and regimented people. We must realize that behind the Japanese fighting man whom we are even now in process of defeating stands a determined foe, the Japanese civilian, with whom we must also reckon before achieving eventual victory."

## Newspapers and Publishers

## McCormick and Patterson Publications

ALTHOUGH the Chicago *Tribune*, the New York *Daily News*, and the Washington *Times-Herald* do not make up a newspaper chain in the usual sense, readers of one get substantially the same picture of the world each day as readers of the others. Linked by membership in the same family, the same point of view on public affairs, and the same preference for sensational presentation, Colonel Robert R. McCormick, Captain Joseph M. Patterson, and Eleanor Patterson, editor-publishers of the three respectively, often make use of the same pro-isolationist, anti-Roosevelt material.

Besides editorial slant and sensational approach, the *Tribune*, the *News*, and the *Times-Herald* share other common characteristics. Each is run by a dynamic, all-powerful owner. Each consciously appeals to "the common man." And each boasts the top circulation in a leading American city. Taken together, the profits of these three papers rival the earnings of the Hearst empire.

Like Hearst and Marshall Field, McCormick and the two Pattersons came into journalism by way of inherited wealth. When Robert W. Patterson, editor of the Chicago *Tribune*, died in 1910, his son Joseph and his nephew Robert McCormick were young men still undecided on what their careers should be. Each had tried politics, Patterson as a Socialist and McCormick as a Republican. Patterson had experimented with writing and newspaper work and McCormick had served briefly as a member of a law firm. With the death of the elder Patterson, however, the two stepped in as co-editors of the *Tribune*.

At this time, the *Tribune* stood third among Chicago's eight daily papers and was considered financially shaky. Different though their political views were, McCormick and Patterson worked well together toward improving it. They introduced new columns

and comic strips, streamlined makeup, and finally won a bitter circulation battle with the local Hearst paper.

McCormick and Patterson alternated every month in supervising the *Tribune's* editorial page. Under this arrangement, the paper's policies often seemed to change radically from month to month. On several important issues, however, McCormick and Patterson agreed. Both supported Theodore Roosevelt for President in 1912, both at first opposed American entry into World War I, and both favored an invasion of Mexico in 1916.

By the time the United States did go to war with Germany, however, the *Tribune* was solidly behind the move. Both McCormick and Patterson went to France and both emerged from the war as officers, McCormick a colonel and Patterson a captain. They also returned to civilian life with something else—a decision to go separate ways in the newspaper business. Early in the postwar period, McCormick assumed full control of the *Tribune* while Patterson turned his attention to a new project—the New York *Daily News*.

While McCormick in Chicago was crusading against prohibition, crime, and the menace of Russian Communism, Patterson in New York was popularizing his newly founded tabloid with lurid crime and scandal stories. After an unfavorable early reception, the *News* caught the attention of New Yorkers in the '20's and was soon building a circulation which was to become the largest in the country.

Until 1925, McCormick and Patterson ran their papers independently but had them incorporated under a single company. In 1925, however, they agreed to a further division of power which made the *News* and the *Tribune* independent of each other save for their common use of syndicated material.

The year 1930 saw Eleanor Patterson, third member of the publishing



Joseph Patterson

Eleanor Patterson

Robert McCormick

clan, enter the newspaper business. After a society career which had included scattered writing experience, Mrs. Patterson persuaded Hearst to appoint her editor of his Washington paper, the *Herald*. Her quick success in the job surprised everyone. Enlivening the paper with special features and society news that showed the off-stage workings of politics, she built up circulation rapidly.

Franklin D. Roosevelt's election to the presidency marked a definite split in McCormick-Patterson editorial policy. The *Tribune* in Chicago immediately attacked everything the new administration tried to do. The *News* in New York was equally vigorous in championing the New Deal. In Washington, the *Herald* took the middle course, sometimes supporting the President, sometimes criticizing him.

Through the 1930's, McCormick continued and even intensified his opposition to President Roosevelt. Before the 1936 election, the *Tribune* regularly warned its readers that disaster would follow Landon's defeat. A front-page box measured the time left before elections, saying, "Only — days remain to save your country—what are you going to do about it?"

McCormick's hatreds of this period

also included labor unions, Communists, and the British. As war clouds gathered over Europe, he campaigned vigorously for American isolation, denouncing such things as the Lend Lease Bill and giving full support to the America First Committee.

After 1940, Patterson's *News* swung around to these views. Abandoning his pro-Roosevelt stand, Patterson clamored against aid to Britain, advocated American friendship with Japan, denounced every Administration policy. By this time, the Washington *Herald* had merged with another paper, becoming the *Times-Herald*, and Mrs. Patterson had taken over full control. She followed the policies of her brother and cousin.

Today the McCormick-Patterson papers are still united in bitter hatred of the President. Their isolationism now takes the form of opposition to all plans for postwar international cooperation. Violently hostile to Russia, all three are equally distrustful of Britain. In spite of their former friendliness for Japan, these papers now vigorously support the war in the Pacific, using American losses there as grounds for criticizing the Administration's management of the war effort.

## SMILES

Kittie: "You poor thing, you've aged so since I last saw you that I hardly recognized you!"

Cattie: "It's been years, hasn't it? But I remember that suit you're wearing perfectly!"

★ ★ ★

Teacher: "To what family does the whale belong?"

Freshman: "I don't know. No family in our neighborhood has one."

★ ★ ★

First Aid Teacher: "How would you rescue a man from drowning?"

Eager student: "That's easy. First you take the man out of the water, and then you take the water out of the man."



"The best I can do is put you in the urgent basket!"

"When you asked her to dance did she accept quickly?"

"Why, she was on my feet in an instant!"

★ ★ ★

Wife: "Now what would go best with this tie I bought for you?"

Husband (grimly): "A long white beard!"

★ ★ ★

Kitty: "Veronica certainly has a magnetic personality!"

Cattie: "She should have. Everything she has on is charged!"

★ ★ ★

Booth Tarkington was visiting Naples and was watching an eruption of Vesuvius.

"You haven't anything like that in America, have you," asked his guide.

"No, we haven't," admitted Mr. Tarkington. "However, we have Niagara Falls—it would put that thing out in five minutes."

★ ★ ★

The manager of a business firm, a widower, was informed by his secretary that his son had proposed and that she had accepted him.

"Well, I think you might have seen me first," he said rather sternly.

"I did," she replied, "but I preferred your son."

★ ★ ★

Mary: "I always compliment my teachers on their clothes."

Sue: "Why? Are they smart?"

Mary: "No, but I try to be."

## Questions from the News

1. Why has March 31 been fixed as the date for a possible threat in the nation's soft-coal mines?

2. How often are contracts negotiated between the miners and the coal operators?

3. What are some of the more important demands now made by the United Mine Workers?

4. Why do industrialists in general oppose the royalty demands made by John L. Lewis?

5. What is the Little Steel Formula and how does it figure in the dispute?

6. Describe the voting procedure for the postwar security organization.

7. On what type of decisions to be taken by the Security Council would unanimous agreement have to be reached?

8. State the arguments of those who contend that this procedure would prevent the security organization from taking action against a major power.

9. What reply is given by supporters of the plan?

10. How did the Council of the League of Nations decide matters of this kind?

11. Who said that "one strong heaven will win the war"?

12. To what position in the government has Fred M. Vinson been appointed? Who has taken his place as Director of Economic Stabilization?

13. True or false: The McCormick Patterson newspapers are strong supporters of the Dumbarton Oaks plan.

14. What evidences are there that morale on the Japanese home-front is cracking?

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## Pronunciations

Kuomintang—gwoe-min-tahng'

Radescu—rah-desh'koo

Alberto Tarchiani—al-bair'toe tar-kee ah'nee



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